“The World Was Ours, We Marched Upon
Our Little Corporals Command”¹

The Fall of 1805: Ulm, Austerlitz, Pressburg, and the Three Months that Changed Europe

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¹ Lyrics from Mark Knopfler “Done With Bonaparte” Golden Heart Album 1996.
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Glossary of Names

Napoleon I. (15 August 1769- 5 May 1821) Emperor of the French

Prince de Talleyrand. (2 February 1754- 17 May 1838) Leading French Diplomat

Clemens Metternich. (15 May 1773- 11 June 1859) Powerful Austrian diplomat, in Berlin during the fall of 1805.

General Karl Mack von Leiberich. (25 August 1752- 22 December 1828) Austrian general that capitulated at Ulm.

Prince Mikhail Illarionovich Golenishchev-Kutuzov. (16 September 1745- 28 April 1813). Russian general present at the battle of Austerlitz

Michel Ney. (10 January 1769- 7 December 1815). Important marshal for Napoleon.

Joachim Murat. (25 March 1767- 13 October 1815) Important marshal for Napoleon.

Johann I Josef, Prince of Liechtenstein (26 June 1760- 20 April 1836) Austrian general and primary negotiator at Pressburg

Ignaz Gyulay. (11 September 1763- 11 November 1831) Austrian general and member of the Hofkriegsrat, negotiator at Pressburg


William Pitt the Younger (28 May 1759- 23 January 1806) British Prime minister, he orchestrated the Third Coalition and sought to challenge Napoleon, his political rival. Chales Fox took a softer stance with Napoleon.
The Napoleonic era was a fascinating period of war, political intrigue, and change. It was the direct decedent of the turmoil and social upheaval of the French Revolution, a revolution that provided the mechanics for one of history’s most discussed and influential personalities, Napoleon Bonaparte. It is often debated in historical circles as to what ultimate effect Bonaparte had on the face of Europe, and in turn world history. Authors such as Steven Englund have made arguments that he was simply a lucky soldier and tactician, who was more a product of his environment and misinterpreted documents. Others like Kagan and Von Oer have to come to the conclusion that he forever changed the landscape of history and created the ground rules that shape our modern world while others have diminished his overall effect on the larger scope of Western civilization. It is however undeniable that when Napoleon reached his zenith in 1805 he wielded more power then any other man had in centuries and used that power to shape Europe to his will. At Pressburg, which is known today as Bratislava, Napoleon forced his will upon the nations of William Pitt’s Third Coalition and solidified his role in history as a great general and the builder of nations.

William Pitt the Younger was the British Prime Minister and man who during his time in office was most associated with British strength and opposition to France, its revolution, and its general Napoleon. Pitt had been influential in the creation of coalitions against France and at this time he had hoped his Third Coalition of Britain, Austria and Russia, would successfully deal with the new French threat. In the late summer and early fall of 1805 the winds of war could be felt all over Europe. Before Admiral Nelson left for his flagship Victory, Pitt met with him a number of times to express his conviction

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over the necessity of victory. “He had three meetings with Pitt at Downing Street and explained his conviction that victory over the enemy fleet was not enough: nothing short of annihilation could win the war at sea.”\(^3\) Pitt was in his second premiership and struggling with domestic and international politics. He was trying to maintain British supremacy and the balance of power on continental Europe. He understood the importance of a naval victory for Britain and that the success of the Coalition’s ground forces meant the control of Europe. On November 2, he heard the news of Napoleon’s victory at Ulm and could not believe it, but a couple of days later the news of Trafalgar and British naval supremacy reached London and Pitt was hailed the savior of Europe to which he replied “Europe is not to be saved by any single man.”\(^4\) The celebration was to be a short one because in December Napoleon was on the move and determined to destroy the Austrian army. On December 2, 1805 Napoleon destroyed the Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz forcing Austria to the negotiation table. The first accounts reached England on December 19, and by the 29\(^{th}\) it was certain that Napoleon was entirely victorious, after that Pitt was described as wearing “the Austerlitz look.”\(^5\) Upon hearing the news of Napoleon’s victory, legend has it that Pitt looked at a map of Europe and exclaimed, “Roll up that map of Europe: it will not be needed these ten years.”\(^6\) Pitt’s reputed exclamation was prophetic in understanding that the map of Europe was no longer useful, but history proved that it was not merely the ten years that Pitt had exclaimed, but it has been changed ever since. As Pitt’s health continued to fail so did his Coalition and his attempts to maintain the status quo of European power and political

\(^4\) Reilly, 433.
\(^5\) Reilly, 435.
\(^6\) Reilly, 435.
division. After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon brought the Austrians to Pressburg to sign a treaty that shifted the power of Europe, changed its borders, and altered its historical course. Pitt understood that no one man would save Europe and that the actions of the one, Napoleon, had forever changed history. The Treaty of Pressburg 1805 expressed Pitt’s sentiment of rolling up that map of Europe, and it created a new one map ushering in the European nations of the twentieth century and changing the world we live in.

Historians understand the Treaty of Pressburg as a turning moment in European history often footnoting it as an extension from the battles of Ulm and Austerlitz. It is considered the moment when Napoleon effectively maneuvered his great military genius into positive political results establishing his empire and altering history. Frederick W. Kagan explained it in this way, “In the aftermath of Austerlitz, Pressburg, and Schönbrunn, the emperor of the French was ready to turn all his energies to the establishment of a true empire worthy of his ambitions.”7 Napoleon at the time had envisioned the creation of a new German confederation and the establishment of a separate and new German empire free from the chains of the old Austrian order. Historians often have made the conclusions that because of Napoleon’s actions and effective military campaigns, he was able to alter German unification towards the Prussians and away from the Austrians. This would have drastic consequences for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rudolfine Freiin von Oer explained in her detailed account of Der Friede von Pressburg, entirely in German,

“Zu Österreich übergehend, hebt das Mémoire als erstes hervor, daß dieses mit seinen Abtretungen auch seinen Einfluß in der Schweiz und in Italien verloren

Von Oer here expressed the idea that the defeat of Austria so weakened Austrian power that Prussia, emerged as the dominant power among the German speaking populace and within central Europe. This transformation of power structure severely altered the direction of European history and was a far reaching result of the treaty made at Pressburg. Historians have for a long time researched and analyzed the aspects of the Napoleonic era and its effect on future generations. The treaty at Pressburg has always been signified as the culmination of Napoleon’s military power and strength in Europe, but it is important to revisit these events, now over two hundred years in our past, to understand how they have changed the world we now live in.

Before the temporary peace between Napoleon and the Austrians was achieved, two major battles strongly influenced the political environment for the peace talks at Pressburg. Though there were other engagements and minor battles during the 1805 campaigns, the battles of Ulm and Austerlitz had the most influential impact on Austria and the Third Coalition on the road towards Pressburg. Napoleon’s war plans for continental Europe resulted from a number of situations that made it clear to him that he had to invade and defeat his enemies in an effort to secure his power and his political establishment of Europe. Britain, Russia, and Austria had allied against him, and he had

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abandoned his invasion of Britain, a decision later sealed at Trafalgar, this and the constant distrust of Austrian forces brought war in 1805.⁹

The Battle of Ulm

On August 23, 1805 Napoleon wrote a letter to Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, whom he had just made grand chamberlain to the emperor on July 11, 1804. Napoleon had just become emperor of France himself, a few months prior.¹⁰

To M. Talleyrand,

The more I reflect on the European situation, the more I see the urgency of taking decisive action. The fact is, I have nothing to hope for from the Austrian explanations. Austria will reply with fine phrases, in order to gain time, and to prevent my doing anything this winter. Meanwhile under the guise of an armed neutrality, she will sign her subsidy treaty [with England], and her act of coalition [with Russia]; and in April I shall find 100,000 Russians in Poland, paid for, horses, guns, and all, by England, besides 15,000 to 20,000 English at Malta, and 15,000 Russians at Corfu. Then things will be at a pretty pass. So I have made up my mind.

I am striking camp, and replacing my fighting battalions with reserves, which in any case give me a formidable enough army at Boulogne; and on the first of Vendémiaire I shall be in the middle of Germany with 200,000 men, and another 25,000 in the Kingdom of Naples. I march on Vienna, and refuse to lay down arms till I have got Naples and Venice, and have so augmented the Elector of Bavaria’s territory that I have nothing more to fear from Austria. That ought to keep Austria quiet for the winter I shall not return to Paris till I have reached my goal.”¹¹

Napoleon’s intentions were clear. He intended to take the war to the Austrians and bring his terms to the continent. The first major engagements came with the Austrians and their General Karl Mack von Leiberich at battles in and around Ulm in southern Germany. After a number of smaller engagements and maneuvering and counter maneuvering throughout the month of October, Napoleon was able to bring decisive

action on the Austrians before the Russians could arrive in support. “Between October 8
and October 14 the French and the Austrians fought a series of running battles that were
small individually but involved tens of thousands of troops overall.” These battles and
maneuvers sealed the fate of the General Mack and his Austrian troops. On October 14 at
Elchingen, near Ulm, Napoleon’s marshal Michel Ney was able to outmaneuver Riesch
using artillery and cavalry winning the day and allowing Napoleon to surround Mack at
Ulm. Freiin von Oer credits Napoleon’s ability to maneuver troops so quickly from
Boulogne to combat as his key to success, “Die Katastrophe der Österreicher in Ulm war
das Werk eines kühnen Manövers, in welchem Napoleon die Märsche seiner Truppen von
Boulogne über den Rhein und aus Hannover an die Donau kombinierte.” Following
Elchingen Napoleon was able to rain artillery down on Ulm and the Austrians until they
could take it no longer. Though Mack was defeated his stubborn nature did not allow
himself to concede so easily as he boasted that if starvation were to set in “I myself will
eat horseflesh.” This never came to pass because Mack eventually accepted his demise
and capitulated on October 17 with a condition to wait until October 25, but with no help
on the way he completely capitulated on October 20. Mack was allowed to surrender with
his officers and his army was allowed to march out of Ulm with their honor on their way
to France as prisoners. Napoleon called Ulm the Caudine Forks of the Austrian army
and as Mack and his officers approached with heads bowed in respect Napoleon was the
fist to speak; he said,

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\[\text{12 Kagan, 402.}\]
\[\text{13 Kagan, 426-427.}\]
\[\text{14 Freiin von Oer, 41.}\]
\[\text{15 Kagan, 430. from Alfred Krauss, Der Fledzug von Ulm 471.}\]
\[\text{16 Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne, Bourrienne’s Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, edited.}\]
\[\text{By Edgar Sanderson (London: Hutchinson & Co. 1903), 289.}\]
“Gentlemen I am sorry that such brave men as you have shown yourselves, should become the victims of the follies of a cabinet which cherishes insane projects, and which does not hesitate to compromise the dignity of the Austrian nation, and to trifle with the services of its generals. Your names are known to me—they are honorably known wherever you have fought. Examine the conduct of those who have compromised you. What could be more unjust than to attack me without a declaration of war? Is it not unjust to bring foreign invasion upon a country? Is it not betraying Europe to introduce Asiatic barbarians into her disputes? If good faith had been kept, the Aulic Council, instead of attacking me, ought to have sought my alliance to force the Russians back into the north.”¹⁷

Once the capitulation was final Napoleon wrote to Talleyrand from the Abbey of Elchingen.

October 17, 1805

Mosieur Talleyrand, my plan was executed exactly as I conceived it. It completely deceived and outmaneuvered the enemy; more than half of their army of 100,000 men is captured, killed, wounded, or has deserted. Their morale is shattered, and they still are not sure that they can extricate themselves. Their judgment was invariably faulty; not one did they see through my strategy. Napoleon’s words at Ulm expressed his confidence in his cause and abilities.

This victory expressed, not only to him but also to his enemies and other European states the consequences of autocratic rule. For the Germans that lived in the vicinity of Ulm it represented the state of Austrian affairs and the aging Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon was building bridges with the Germans in Bavaria as is stated in the Duke of Rovigo’s memoirs, “From Augsburg the Emperor went to Munich: he there received all the Bavarian authorities, and promised not to forget their country in the treaty of peace.” The Bavarians expressed their gratitude by illuminations; and though the city was full of French soldiers, no complaints were heard.”¹⁸ Whether or not any complaints were heard is un-clear, and to the effect that the Bavarians were happy about a foreign army is perhaps a dubious claim, but the primary effect was the break down of Austrian and Holy Roman identity. Already at Ulm an idea of Germany might have started to emerge that

¹⁷Bourienne, 290.
was distinct from Austrian identity. Walter Langsam expressed what was happening in this fashion, “In their hour of need the German Austrians began to realize that they had more in common, spiritually, with the people who lived to the north of them, than with whom they were politically united, to the east and south.”

With the defeat of Mack at Ulm Napoleon started to imagine plans of further victory and more power. Talleyrand was informed by Napoleon of his plans to take what he wanted from Austria, but Talleyrand replied, “In taking from her on one side he must return to her on the other side, in order to make her an ally.” This did not convince Napoleon to subside his megalomaniac nature who according to Talleyrand was emboldened by his advances. “But new advantages brought about by one of the divisions of his advance guard, firing his imagination, made him desire to march upon Vienna, to hasten to new successes, and to date decrees from the Imperial Palace of Schoenbrunn.”

At Ulm Napoleon looked as though he had no equal, but with the triumph of Ulm came the defeat of Trafalgar at the hands of the British navy on October 21, one day after the official end of hostilities at Ulm.

**Road to Vienna**

After Austria’s failure at Ulm the French army then continued to push east towards Vienna. The march east meant the eventual encounter with the Russian general Mikhail Illarinovich Kutuzov who was too late to arrive at Ulm and intended to avoid battle with Napoleon until the appropriate time. After he was notified by General Mack of the disastrous outcome of Ulm, Kutuzov began a retreat and continued to play a cat

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21 Talleyrand, 224.
and mouse game with Napoleon and his marshals. Throughout the month of November there were clashes between French forces and Austrian Russian forces. The Hofkriegsrat, which was Austria’s military hierarchy and command organization, continued to meet and plan various tactics to hold back Napoleon’s advance. Dismay started to sweep through the Austrian command and on November 4 the emperor summoned the Hofkriegsrat. The meeting was attended by Generals Johann I Josef, Prince of Liechtenstein and Count Ignaz Gyulai, both important officials regarding diplomatic communication with Napoleon. Liechtenstein became important later at Pressburg and Gyulai became the primary negotiator with Napoleon until Pressburg, and participated in all negotiations until the outcome at Austerlitz. The meeting had little effect and the evacuation of Vienna commenced shortly after.

On November 11 the situation became increasing dire for the Coalition as Napoleon approached Vienna. A glimmer of hope came with a stalemate at Dürnstein when Kutuzov’s troops were able to fight off a French division, but this had little effect on Napoleon’s campaign and Napoleon was able to continue his advance further south towards Vienna. Then came the debacle of the Austrian army at Tabor Bridge, a bridge that was three wooden structures and some connecting causeways carrying the main road north to Moravia across a number of waterways, canals, and branches of the Danube. It was one of the primary crossing points into Vienna. On November 12 two of Napoleon’s marshals had reached the bridge with the intent of crossing it and taking Vienna. Marshals Jean Lannes, Duke of Montebello and Murat then approached the bridge that had been prepared by the Austrians for destruction. It had been ordered by the

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22 Freiin von Oer, 67.
Hofkriegsrat that bridge be destroyed in the consequence of a French invasion. So Murat and Lannes approached the Austrians at the bridge and confidently lied their way across. Lannes later conveyed the following story to Bourrienne,

“Having arranged out plans, we returned to give orders, and I intrusted [sic] the command of my column of grenadiers to an officer on whose courage and intelligence I could rely. I then returned to the bridge, accompanied by Murat, and two or three other officers. We advanced unconcernedly, and entered into conversation with the commander of a post in the middle of the bridge. We spoke to him about an armistice which was to be speedily concluded. While conversing with the Austrian officers, we contrived to make them turn their eyes towards the left bank, and then, agreeably to the orders we had given, my column of grenadiers advanced on the bridge. The Austrians cannonries, on the left bank, seeing their officers in the midst of us, did not dare to fire, and my column advanced at a quick step. Murat and I at the head of it, gained the left bank. All the combustibles, prepared for blowing up the bridge, were thrown into the river; and my men took possession of the batteries erected for the defense of the bridge head. The poor devils of Austrian officers were perfectly astounded when I told them they were my prisoners.”

The Austrians had been made fools of by the French marshals and latter Bourrienne explained how they ‘laughed immoderately’ at the ruse they had perpetrated on the Austrian officers. Once Tabor Bridge was compromised the marshals then crossed into Vienna along with the rest of army. The Duke of Rovigo expressed in his memoirs, ”This surprise of the bridge of the Tabor gave the Emperor great pleasure.” He moved his head-quarters to the palace of Schönbrunn, and made preparations to maneuver with all his forces, either upon the Russians or upon the Archduke Charles, according as either the one or the other should be within reach.”

After entering Vienna Napoleon then pushed his army to Brünn to pursue Kutuzov, but he also became aware of Archduke Charles’, leader of the powerful

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24Bourrienne, 294.
25Bourrienne, 294.
Austrian forces fighting in Italy, movement from Italy which was to his rear. Napoleon paused in Brünn to wait for developments, but the Archduke never became a serious threat to the situation even though he was 11 days march from Vienna. Instead the Archduke continued to moved further east rather then north and ended up in northern Hungary when the battle of Austerlitz took place, a move he was criticized for.

This was another disastrous setback for the Austrian situation and the loss of its capital resulted in a very real psychological blow to its European standing. While Prince Clemens Metternich, an extremely important Austrian statesman, was in Berlin trying to gain Prussian support against France his nation’s status among German populations was being irrevocably altered in favor of the protestant north. He wrote in early November of 1805 while trying to negotiate treaties with Prussia, “whereas the Prussian negotiators, with the malevolence which we have reason to always expect from them, would find some means of paralyzing the whole concern.” His frustration with Prussian neutrality would echo sentiments over one hundred years later when Austria would again call on their brothers from the north, but find their two positions reversed in a world altered by the effects of the late months of 1805.

The Battle of Austerlitz

On December 3, 1805 Napoleon wrote to his brother Prince Joseph Bonaparte,

‘Yesterday, after several days’ maneuvering, I fought a decisive battle; I routed the allied army under the personal command of the Emperors of Russia and Austria. The strength of their army was 80,000 Russians and 30,000 Austrians. I took nearly 40,000 of them prisoner, including twenty or so Russian generals, 100 guns, and all the standards of the Russian Imperial Guard. The whole army covered itself with glory.

A whole enemy column threw itself into a lake, where most of them drowned. I can still hear the cries of some of these unhappy men, whom it was impossible to save. The two Emperors are in a pretty bad position.

Although I have slept out of doors all this week, my health is good. I have a bed to sleep on tonight in M. de Kaunitz’s handsome château at Austerlitz, and it is the first time for a week that I have put on a clean shirt.

This morning the Emperor of Austria sent the Prince of Lichtenstein to ask me for an interview. Peace may follow quite soon. I had fewer troops on the battlefield than the enemy, but I caught him unawares in the middle of a movement.”

With these words to his brother Napoleon summed up the events of December 2, 1805 when he was able to bring the old order to its knees and change the course of world events.

Today Austerlitz is known as Skavkov u Brna, a town to the east of Brno in the Southern Moravian region of the Czech Republic. It was here that Napoleon wanted battle because he felt the terrain was advantageous to his needs and he wanted a decisive battle with the Austrian Russian forces. This was also where the Russians had decided to force Napoleon into battle. Kutuzov wanted to avoid battle and continue to retreat drawing out the Grande Armée and weakening its position and supply lines, the supply lines that they had failed to effectively attack. Tsar Alexander had a different idea though, he was eager to face Napoleon in battle even though he had little experience. Alexander, perhaps with the approval of Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor and Austrian Emperor, decided to force Napoleon to battle. He was concerned about the lack of food and shelter for his army in the area. This decision did not sit well with Kutuzov who felt that retreating and waiting would be advantageous, a tactic that would work for him years later in Russia. The truth might have been that waiting was a good idea because it may

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29Rothenberg, 100.
have allowed time for the Prussians to enter the war and for reinforcements to arrive.\textsuperscript{30} This decision was made and on the November 27, the Coalition forces moved out of their Olshan encampment and into the Austerlitz area, a decision that played right into Napoleon’s hand for he had selected this area for battle.\textsuperscript{31} Bourrienne recorded French general Jean Rapp’s, account, he stated, “When we arrived at Austerlitz, the Russians, ignorant of the emperor’s skillful dispositions to draw them to the ground which he had marked out, and seeing our advanced guards give way before their columns, they conceived the victory won.”\textsuperscript{32} This was a skillful tactic used by Napoleon at Austerlitz because he understood the terrain and was able to conceal his numbers. Rapp explained further, “The imperial guard deployed: artillery, cavalry, infantry, were marched against a bridge which the Russians attacked, and the movement, concealed from Napoleon by the inequality of the ground, was not observed by us.” Rapp explains then how he attacked with his Mamelukes, warriors from Egypt that fought with Napoleon, and screamed ‘Courage’ as the fighting became increasingly bloody. “The brave Morland fell by my side. It was absolute butchery. We fought man to man, and so mingled together, that the infantry on neither side dare fire, lest they should kill their own men.”\textsuperscript{33} The French then began to push back the ‘admirable’ Russians as Rapp described them. “The intrepidity of our troops finally bore us in triumph over all opposition.”\textsuperscript{34} Rapp later describes the actions of the enemy, he said, “the enemy fled in disorder in sight of the two Emperors of Austria and Russia, who had taken their station on a rising ground, in order to be

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Rothenberg} Rothenberg, 100.
\bibitem{Rothenberg} Rothenberg, 100.
\bibitem{Bourrienne} Bourrienne, 297.
\bibitem{Bourrienne} Bourrienne, 297.
\bibitem{Bourrienee} Bourrienee, 297.
\end{thebibliography}
spectators of the contest.”35 They were witnesses to a complete disaster and destruction of their armies. Rapp exclaimed, “they witnessed no child’s play… The Russians retuned not again to the charge—they had had enough; we captured everything, their cannon, their baggage, their all.”36

The Russians agreed with the outcome of the battle as explained in a report of the battle from Lieutenant General Miloradovich to Kutuzov on December 15, 1805, “Such disastrous circumstances, extreme fatigue of troops, lack of ammunition, difficult terrain and the enemy fire from all directions had disorganized troops that fought so valiantly before.”37 General of Infantry Count Buxhöwden painted a much better picture for the Russian cause in his report to Kutuzov, but his conclusion was the same, defeat. He reported,

“To report to Your Excellency that, in this tenacious and bloody fighting both senior and lower ranks of the 1st Column fought the enemy with firmness and exceptional [preizbitochnoi] courage, deserving His Imperial Majesty’s benign attention. All senior and lowers ranks of the 2nd Column attacked the enemy with incredible gallantry, repulsed the enemy attacks as hard as they could but unfortunately were overwhelmed by the much superior enemy.”38

One Russian general did not even report to Kutuzov until months later in 1806 because he had been captured, but his report was of the same conclusion. He reported on July 23, 1806 from Luneville in France, “Was completely surrounded despite all my endeavors.

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35Bourrienne, 298.
36Bourrienne, 298.
Having endured the fiercest enemy fire for seven hours in a low-lying and disadvantageous position and losing many subordinates, some killed, others wounded, while remaining were in confusion from a ferocious canister fire from three directions and without any ammunition or hope for reinforcements, [I and my troops] fought to the last, as required of the subjects of Your Imperial Majesty, before being finally captured by the enemy.”

Austerlitz was a complete victory for Napoleon and his cause. Napoleon later wrote in his memoirs, “The move on Austerlitz to fight the Russian Army, and to prevent its union with the army returning from Italy, was correct according to all the rules of the art of war. It succeeded, and was bound to succeed.” He later wrote concerning the Prussians, “As for Prussia, we were not at war with that Power. The oath taken over the tomb of Frederick the Great was only conditional. Count Haugwitz came into my headquarters to make certain proposals to me, which I would have accepted if I had been beaten at Austerlitz.” The necessity of victory at Austerlitz for Napoleon is clearly stated in these words. If he would have lost at Austerlitz all numbers of possibilities could have been true. Prussia might have entered that war early, Alexander most likely would have forced his terms on Napoleon, the Austrians would have had vengeance and most likely brought ruin on Napoleon’s new French Empire, and the Treaty of Pressburg would have never existed. Our world would have been irrevocably different perhaps allowing Austria to maintain an advantageous hand with the German principalities and


41Napoleon I, 124.
maintaining the Holy Roman Empire. It is fair to say that the twentieth century may have had a very different conclusion.

Metternich knew the power that Napoleon had obtained and his influence in Germany. He wrote in a letter to Karl August von Hardenberg, a Prussian statesman, on December 13, 1805, which said “but Bonaparte does not confine himself to this in his plans for disorganization. The German Empire, having fallen under his power, feels the effects of his influence, and propriety is sacrificed to the desire to recompense those who have been constrained, enticed, or misled to make common cause with the oppressors of their country.”42 He later wrote, “The Electors of Bavaria, Würtemburg, and Baden have violated every right in defiance of those of the head of the Empire and of their fellow states, by seizing the possessions of the House of Austria, of the Noblesse immédiate, the Teutonic orders of Malta, including in their territories or adjacent to them.”43 Metternich at this moment in time was aware of the breaking down of his Europe and the old systems. Napoleon had unleashed the ideas of the French Revolution and Europe was dealing with those consequences. At the same time though, Napoleon’s military conquests caused real political change in 1805. This change had such a drastic effect on the power base of the European continent.

After the defeat of the Third Coalition at Austerlitz, peace was at hand. A day after the battle Emperor Francis II sent Prince Lichtenstein to Napoleon and asked for an audience. Bourrienne described their meeting on December 4, 1805. He wrote,

Napoleon proceeded on his horseback to the place appointed, which was a mill about three leagues from Austerlitz. The Emperor of Austria arrived in a calash; and as soon as he was observed Napoleon alighted from his horse and advanced to meet him, attended by his aides-de-camp. Napoleon embraced

42Metternich, 103.
43Metternich, 103.
Francis II on meeting him. During the interview Napoleon had Berthier beside him, and the Emperor of Austria was attended by Prince Lichtenstein. What a situation for the heir of Charles V! The emperors remained about two hours, and again embraced at parting.  

Alexander later agreed to whatever was decided, claiming that he simply came to the aid of his ally during the war, but now that was a mute endeavour.  

This set the final stage for peace and exhausted any chance of halting Napoleon’s ambitions for Europe and destroyed the Third Coalition. Once Napoleon’s war machine had achieved what he wanted on the battle field he then turned to peace with Austria He sent Talleyrand to acquire everything France had won.

The Treaty of Pressburg

Talleyrand wrote in his memoirs:

The negotiations, of which, before this great battle, there had only been a pretence, then became serious. They commenced at Brünn in Moravia, and ended at Presburg, [sic] where General Gyulay and the loyal Prince von Lichtenstein had repaired with me.

For Talleyrand peace with Austria had a different meaning then it had with Napoleon. Talleyrand wanted to treat the defeated Austrians with measure of compassion, and make them an ally to France in opposition to Russia and Britain; his motives were more in line with the Ancien Régime policy. On the other hand Napoleon had defeated his enemies and wanted to impose his vision without real compromise. This of course might have been different had Napoleon lost at Austerlitz for he made clear in

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44Bourrienne, 298.  
45Bourrienne, 298.  
47Talleyrand, 227.  
his writings that he would have been forced to a different kind of peace, but with victory came the spoils and Napoleon intended to impose his will.

The negotiations between Napoleon his diplomat, Talleyrand and the two Austrian generals, Lichtenstein, and Gyulay, began in Brünn. Napoleon and Talleyrand met there on either December 8 or 9 and began to discuss that kind of peace they would impose on the Austrians.⁴⁹ Talleyrand still thought he could convince Napoleon that a generous peace would be beneficial to France and that he should be light handed with division of territory and reparations. Talleyrand wrote later, “Those conditions were harsh indeed, and the treaty made with Count von Haugwitz made it impossible for me to mitigate them in any other clauses than those relative to the indemnity to be paid to France.”⁵⁰ After Napoleon made it clear the kind of peace he wanted with Talleyrand, Prince Lichtenstein arrived in Brünn on December 10, while Talleyrand was finishing up negotiations with the German principalities of Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg. When Lichtenstein arrived Napoleon told him, “Do you have authority, I will negotiate directly and in 24 hours everything will be complete.”⁵¹ Lichtenstein at this time felt he was a little out of his league and asked for help from Francis. The Emperor sent Gyulai to Brünn to assist Lichtenstein and on the December 12, Talleyrand began to go through the individual articles of the treaty.⁵² The negotiations became a marathon session of Talleyrand, acting as the hand of Napoleon, dictating the various demands of France. Occasionally the Austrians would make an objection and attempt to compromise various articles only to lose the negotiation and concede the point to France. Article two was a

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⁴⁹ Kagan, 650.  
⁵⁰ Talleyrand, 228.  
⁵¹ Freiin von Oer, 141.  
very contentious article in which the Austrians asked about their Italian, Dalmatian, and Albanian territories, a point very important to Francis. All of which they were forced to give up; Talleyrand only allowed them to debate the ownership of debt in those territories. Talleyrand did promise to Napoleon forward suggestions that Archduke Ferdinand receive both the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. Napoleon also wanted to enforce a 100 million francs reparation on Austria, but Talleyrand was able to reduce that number to 50 million francs later. In article 6 Napoleon promised not to expand the boarders of France a point taken with suspicion by Liechtenstein and Gyulai. Negotiations continued in this way: Talleyrand presented an article and the Austrians made little protest only to have the demands of France upheld. By the December 13, Napoleon had returned to Vienna and was met there by Christian Graf von Haugwitz the primary diplomat from Prussia.

Prussia pretty much abandoned Austria for the time being and made peace with Napoleon. Napoleon made mention of the peace with Prussia in his memoirs. “I returned to Vienna, and on the 15th of December, 1805, a treaty was signed between France and Prussia in order to relieve Prussia of any anxiety regarding the treaty which King Frederick William the Third had concluded with Russia a few weeks before.” The treaty with Prussia destroyed all the diplomatic work that Metternich had preformed in Berlin and it shattered Austria’s and Russia’s ability to have another viable force against France. The Treaty of Schönbrunn secured Napoleon’s territories in Italy and Bavaria, while it

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53 Freiin von Oer 144.
54 Kagan, 653.
56 Napoleon I, 125.
gave Tyrol and Ansbach over to the Bavarians while allowing the Prussians Hanover.\textsuperscript{57} Napoleon used the fact that Austria had asked for Hanover to create a fissure between Prussia and Austria. There had been hope that the Archduke Charles with his army in Hungary could march on Vienna and the Prussians could march south and squeeze Napoleon’s exhausted troops, but this was made impossible when peace came between France and Prussia.

On December 16 Talleyrand continued to request that Napoleon reduce the harshness of the treaty, but Napoleon was unwilling to relent and instead recalled Talleyrand to Vienna. This shifted the focus of the negotiations to Pressburg, where Talleyrand was closer to Napoleon and Liechtenstein closer to Francis, who was in Hollitsch.\textsuperscript{58} The negotiations began to slow and Napoleon was eager to find a peace and have Austria sign the treaty, but Austria began to waver and drag its diplomatic feet. Archduke Charles, with his army still in Hungary, had begun to disturb the supply lines into Vienna. This then caused Napoleon to threaten continuation of the war and to bring the Revolution to Austria. This threat terrified the ruling class in Austria and was taken with serious concern by both Charles and Francis.\textsuperscript{59} Even with these threats Francis still attempted to hold out on agreeing to the harsh terms of the treaty, on December 19 Austria continued to and attempted to debate the territorial claims it was forced to give up in Germany and in Italy. These debates were quickly met with threats by Napoleon and Talleyrand, which were taken very seriously by Liechtenstein especially after he had heard the news about the Prussian situation.\textsuperscript{60} This haggling and dawdling by the

\begin{thebibliography}{1}
\bibitem{Kagan} Kagan, 657.
\bibitem{Kagan} Kagan, 658.
\bibitem{Kagan} Kagan, 659.
\bibitem{Friien von Oer} Friien von Oer, 178.
\end{thebibliography}
Austrians did put the potential peace in jeopardy, but all this changed when Charles returned to Vienna and witnessed the state of the Austrian government. By December 22 Charles had advised Francis that the Monarchy ‘is shaken, its components have been wrenched from their foundations.’ Peace he added was ‘indispensable.’ This was another theme that presented itself during the Napoleonic era, the contrast between birth born aristocratic incompetence and Napoleon’s self-made greatness.

By December 24 negotiations were still not final, but nearly all conditions of peace had been met only the issue concerning the large 100 million francs retribution was still contested. Liechtenstein reported to Cobenzl about the final agreement to the treaty, but nearly of the Austrian ministers had been dismissed by the request of Charles for their failure and incompetence concerning their defeat at the hands of Napoleon. On December 25 the last instructions concerning the negotiations came from Count Stadion, the new foreign minister. He conveyed to Liechtenstein to try to negotiate more favorably concerning territories Tyrol, Würzburg, Baden, and Württemberg, but ultimately they were forfeited to either France itself or to Bavaria, a French ally. He also insisted that Liechtenstein try to win Bamberg for Archduke Ferdinand and only in the worst case agree to the 50 million francs. One of his last instructions was not to wait longer then eight days to sign the treaty. The reason for this waiting period was because there was a possibility that Archduke Charles may negotiate a better peace, but this never formulated. The meeting between Napoleon and Charles resulted in nothing but soldiers talk and an intention by Charles to capitulate anyway.

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61Rothenberg, 101.
62Friien von Oer, 179.
63Frein von Oer, 179.
64Kagan, 660.
On the morning of December 26 the preamble and the first 18 articles were complete but some still needed to be edited. Talleyrand was instructed not to change one word that Napoleon had prepared, but he went against his emperor’s will and altered article 23 slightly.\textsuperscript{65} He referenced this in his memoirs.

“Being master of the wording, on which Napoleon’s influence was minimized by the distance I was from him, I applied myself to make it free from any ambiguity; so that, although he had obtained everything that it was possible for him to obtain, the treaty did not please him. He wrote to me some time after: “You have made me, at Presburg, [sic] a treaty that annoys me a great deal;” which did not, however, prevent him giving me, a short time after, a marked proof of satisfaction by creating me Prince of Benevento, the territory of which was occupied by his troops.”\textsuperscript{66}

Later in the morning the treaty was complete and Talleyrand, Lichtenstein and Gyulai began the last hours of negotiation at Pressburg.\textsuperscript{67} It was common for Napoleonic treaties to be presented the day of signing in a different fashion then they had been negotiated over.\textsuperscript{68} According to Freiin von Oer it is unclear whether or not this was done intentionally by Napoleon. Once the treaty was finalized negotiations continued into a marathon session hours of negotiating. Napoleon was willing to wait until New Years because that was when the Revolutionary calendar was replaced by the Gregorian, but by this time peace was at hand and the Austrians where ready for peace.\textsuperscript{69} One final negotiation was made concerning the amount of francs to be paid, Talleyrand and the Austrians agreed to lower reparations to a 40 million franc price. The treaty was then signed by Ch. M. Talleyrand and the two Austrians Jean Prince de Liechtenstein and Ignace Comte de Gyulai at the Primate’s Palace. The actual signing date is officially

\textsuperscript{65}Freiin von Oer, 181.
\textsuperscript{66}Talleyrand, 228.
\textsuperscript{67}Friien von Oer, 186.
\textsuperscript{68}Friien von Oer, 186.
\textsuperscript{69}Friien von Oer, 183.
December 26, but according to Freiin von Oer there are reports that the signing took place during the early morning of December 27. Regardless, negotiations were a lengthy process on the December 26, but peace was finally achieved and Napoleon had bent the Austrians to his will.

Napoleon then established peace with Austria while taking territory, money and recognition. He established the kingdom of Bavaria, which gained the Austrian territories of Passau, Tryol, Brixten, Trent, and the Vorarlberg and was allowed to entire the Free Imperial City of Augsburg. Württemberg gained the towns of Ehingen, Munderkingen, Riedlingen, Mengen, and Sulgaw, the Landgraviate of Nellenberg and part of the Breisgau. The Elector of Baden received the rest of Breisgau and the city of Constance. The newly created kingdoms were basically French vassal states. The Austrians were allowed to have Salzburg and Berchtesgaden as compensation, but they were poor territories. The treaty solidified two earlier treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville. It also handed over Dalmatia, Venetia, and Istia to the Kingdom of Italy, which was another Napoleonic conquered territory. This ended the domination of the Adriatic by the Austrian empire. The Austrians were also asked to pay 40 million francs eight million at ratification on January 1, 1806 and the rest to be handed over in bills of exchange at Hamburg, Amsterdam, Augsburg, Frankfurt, Bâle, or Paris that had to be paid in two millions every two months. The treaty also brought an end to the centuries old Holy Roman Empire which made Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire only Francis I of Austria. These drastic changes brought very drastic consequences to the European

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70 Frien von Oer, 182.
71 Mowat, 150.
72 Mowat, 150.
73 Mowar, 151.
74 Mowat, 151.
continent and its people, changing the course of history. Metternich wrote to Stadion on January 10, 1806, “I feel on reading through a document of which every article only offers subjects of regret…Your Excellency will be convinced by my former accounts that the attempts of Bonaparte to crush us with odious calumnies, even at a time when we are no longer his enemies, are as active as ever.”

Conclusions

Germany

The idea of a unified German state was not something that was realized until 1870-71 after the Franco-Prussian war, but its foundations were laid with the Treaty of Pressburg. Napoleon took the new kingdoms that he had won in Germany and used them to form the Confederation of the Rhine, primarily assembled during 1806. The power of Austrian dominance in German speaking Europe had been forever broken, and though they played an important role in the Congress of Vienna they had been severely setback by the events of late 1805. Prussia was to become the dominant force among German principalities. It was a Prussian general, Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher, at the battle of Waterloo years later that defeated Napoleon, symbolically representing the success of Prussia and the failure of Austria. The rest of the nineteenth century became the story of German unification.

Germany became the dominant power on the continent defeating its neighbors, Denmark, Austria, and France in war and developing economic strength that came to rival Britain. The German nation became the key player in the twentieth century, becoming deeply involved in the First and Second World Wars. The world would look enormously different if Austria would have maintained political strength during this

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Metternich, 119.
period. One can only speculate how the events of the early twentieth century would have played out. Germany became the antagonist in the Western world during both World War One and Two, but if Austria had maintained a more dominant position, events may have been very different. Metternich during his time was very aware of the consequences of losing the German principalities to Napoleon’s influence. Metternich was involved in developing a propaganda newspaper to counter French influence in Germany he wrote in his notes about French propaganda in 1805,

As the Hamburg Gazettes are circulated all over Europe, this surveillance was not likely to escape the care of the French Government, and it is much to be desired that some decided steps—easily taken at the moment of contacting the closest engagements among so many great Powers—may at last put an end to the odious pretension of France to corrupt the mind of Germany by means of its own public journals.  

It was clear to Metternich that French influence was striping the political balance in Germany against the Austrian cause.

By the end of the Napoleonic era Germany had developed a nationalistic identity and after years of war grew tried of Napoleon’s ambitions and turned against French authority, but it was at Pressburg that Germany truly developed independence.

**Italy**

The Treaty of Pressburg also sent into motion the unification of the Italian peninsula. Before Pressburg Napoleon had set up the Kingdom of Italy and other governments under his control in Italy, but the Austrians continued to maintain claim over the region. After Pressburg, like in Germany, Austrian power was perpetually weakened on the Italian peninsula. Like the rest of Europe the Italian situation was not sorted out until the Congress of Vienna, and unification was not realized until the late

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76Metternich, 96.
1860s. In 1866 Italy finally threw off the last controls of Austrian power during the
Austro-Prussian war. Italy and Prussia, two nations that most benefited politically, from
the Treaty of Pressburg, defeated the declining Austrian Empire. In December of 1805
the idea of an Italian nation germinated and continued to mature over the course of the
nineteenth century.

By the time World War One broke out Italy still maintained claim to the
territories of Dalmatia and Istria, across the Adriatic. These claims became an important
reason for Italian involvement in the First World War and became important at the
negotiations at Versailles. The territories of Dalmatia and Istria originally became
attached to Italian identity at Pressburg, an example of the long stretching historical
consequences of the treaty.

Further Conclusions

The wars of the Napoleonic era set in motion a Europe that emerged from the
nineteenth century in a very precarious situation. Borders were drawn and re-drawn,
allegiances made and broke, and nationalism had taken its first true steps. Europe had
entered a new age of warfare and experienced armies larger then in any previous
centuries. The ideals of the French Revolution were unleashed, and met strong opposition
from the ruling class of European politics. These ideals continued to emerge throughout
the nineteenth century, they appeared in 1848, and multiple in forms of socialism and
nationalism that formed political parties in European countries throughout the century.
The continent also experienced the rise of the strong united nations of Germany and Italy,
two nations directly influenced by the treaty made at Pressburg. Many of these influences
on European history were seeded by the success of Napoleon’s armies and his ability to
expose the weakness of the old aristocratic hold on political and military power in Europe.

Napoleon’s wars also cost dearly in human life, a point usually forgotten. After the battle of Austerlitz Talleyrand was given a tour of the battlefield by Marshal Lannes, he wrote,

I had spent two hours on this terrible battle-field; to say that this same man who, on the evening before, had performed such prodigious feats of valour, who had displayed unprecedented courage as long as he had enemies to fight, was about to faint when he was so moved that, when showing me this different points where the principle attacks had been made, he said to me: “I cannot stay longer, unless you wish to come with me to knock down villainous Jews who are robbing the dead and the dying.”

77 The remark by Lannes, which expressed a racist sentiment in Europe towards their Jewish communities, but it also, expressed the painful mental and physical sacrifice made during these conflicts. The idea of a national army made from conscripts was actually quite recent at this time, and it sent a precedent of sacrifice and honor. The victory at Austerlitz solidified Napoleon’s methods and policies. The honor of the battlefield is an ancient one, but in the age of nationalism, industrialization, and secularization it takes on a new shell with serious consequences. Napoleon expressed this sentiment on October 6, 1806, “Soldiers, not one of you desires to return to France by any road save that of honor. Only under the arches of triumph shall we return home.”

78 These sentiments, perhaps fell on deaf ears immediately following the nearly twenty straight years of war during Napoleon’s reign, but by the outbreak of World War One Europeans were again marching off to battle fields for honor and glory. Crown Prince Wilhelm wrote in 1913 in his book Germany in Arms,

77Talleyrand, 227.
78Carr, 217.
This view of life is un-German and does not suit us. The German who loves his people, who believes in the greatness and the future of our homeland, and who is unwilling to see its position diminished, dare not close his eyes in the indulgence of dreams such as these, he dare not allow himself to be lulled into indolent sleep by the lullabies of peace sung by the Utopians.  

By the end of the war Europe was disillusioned and in revolution, but the glory of battle in the European psyche found success during Napoleon’s wars. More then a century later that same idea of honor and glory was destroyed in trench warfare and with mustard gas. The success of Napoleon’s wars created a false idea of what war meant and cost millions of lives and created a twentieth century rife with war.

Metternich wrote “The consequences of the Treaty of Pressburg seem to me incalculable.” Pressburg represented the end of the old Austrian power structure and the emergence of new European powers. The treaty represented Napoleon’s zenith and all the consequences of his success. William Pitt understood the consequences of Austerlitz and knew that the map of Europe he helped establish would no longer be needed; he understood that his world had very much changed, but he never lived to see to the extent that the Treaty of Pressburg changed everything.

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80 Metternich, 118.
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Primary Documents


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**Maps and Lyrics Sources**


Lyrics from Mark Knopfler “Done With Bonaparte” Golden Heart Album 1996.
Treaty of Pressburg

December 26, 1805 (5 Nivôse, Year XIV).

De Clercq, Traites, II, 145-151.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, equally prompted by the desire to put an end to the calamities of the war, have resolved to proceed without delay to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

1. There shall be, dating from this day, peace and amity between His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria and His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, their heirs and successors, their respective States and subjects, forever.

2. France shall continue to possess in complete ownership and sovereignty the Duchies, Principalities, Lordships and territories beyond the Alps, which were, prior to the present Treaty, united or incorporated with the French Empire, or ruled by French Laws and Administrations.

3. . . .

4. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria renounces, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, the portion of the States of the Republic of Venice ceded by him in the Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, which shall be united forever with the Kingdom of Italy.

5. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria recognizes His Majesty the Emperor of the French as King of Italy. But it is agreed that, in conformity with the declaration made by His Majesty the Emperor of the French at the time when he took the Crown of Italy, as soon as the Powers named in that declaration shall have fulfilled the conditions which are there set forth, the Crowns of France and of Italy shall be separated forever, and they can no longer in any case be united upon the same head. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria binds himself to recognize, at the time of the separation, the successor whom His Majesty the Emperor of the French shall give himself as King of Italy.

6. The present Treaty of peace is declared common to their Most Serene Highnesses the Electors of Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden, and to the Batavian Republic, allies in the present war of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy.

7. The Electors of Bavaria and of Wurtemburg having taken the title of King, without however ceasing to belong to the Germanic Confederation, His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria recognizes them in that capacity.

8. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, both for himself, his heirs and successors, and for the Princes of his House, their respective heirs and successors, renounces the Principalities, Lordships, Domains and territories herein-after designated:
Cedes and abandons to His Majesty the King of Bavaria, the Margravate of Burgau and its dependencies, the Principality of Eichstadt, the portion of the territory of Passau belonging to His Royal Highness the Elector of Salzburg, and situated between Bohemia, Austria, the Danube and the inn; the county of Tyrol, including the Principalities of Brixen and Trent; the Seven Lordships of Vorarlburg with their enclaves; the County of Hohenems, the County of Konigsegg-Rothenfels, the Lordships of Tettnang and Argen, and the city and territory of Lindau.

To His Majesty the King of Wurtemburg, the five so-called cities of the Danube, to wit: Ehingen, Munderkingen, Riedlingen, Mengen, and Sulgen, with their dependencies; the Upper and Lower County of Hohenberg; the Landgravate of Nellenbourg and the Prefecture of Altorf, with their dependencies (the city of Constance excepted); the portion of Brisgau constituting an enclave within the Wurtemburg possessions and situated to the east of a line drawn from Schlegelberg to Molbach, and the cities and territories of Willingen and Brentingen.

To His Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, the Brisgau (with the exception of the enclave and the separate portions above designated), the Ortenau and their dependencies, the city of Constance and the commandery of Meinau.

The Principalities, Lordships, domains and territories above said shall be possessed respectively by their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and of Wurtemburg and by His Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, whether in suzerainty or in complete ownership and sovereignty, in the same manner, with the same titles, rights, and prerogatives as they were possessed by His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, or the Princes of His House, and not otherwise.

9. . . .
10. The countries of Salzburg and Berechtesgaden belonging to His Royal and Excellent Highness the Archduke Ferdinand shall be incorporated in the Empire of Austria; and His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria shall possess them in complete ownership and sovereignty, but with the title of Duchy only.
11. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages to obtain in favor of His Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, Elector of Salzburg, the cession, by His Majesty the King of Bavaria, of the Principality of Würzburg, as it was given to his Majesty by the recez of the Deputation of the Germanic Empire of February 25, 1803. . . .

. . .

15. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, as well for himself, his heirs and successors, as for the Princes of his House, their heirs and successors renounces without exception all rights, whether of Sovereignty or of Suzerainty,
all claims whatsoever, present or contingent, upon all the States of their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemburg and His Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, and generally upon all the States, domains and territories included in the circles of Bavaria, Franconia and Swabia, as well as every title taken from the said domains and territories; and reciprocally all present or contingent claims of the said States at the expense of the House of Austria or of its Princes are and shall remain extinguished forever: . . .

16. . . .

17. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon guarantees the integrity of the Empire of Austria in the condition wherein it shall be in consequence of the present Treaty of peace, like-wise the integrity of the possessions of the Princes of the House of Austria designated in the eleventh and twelfth articles.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

There shall be paid by His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, for redemption of all the contributions imposed upon the different hereditary States occupied by the French army and not yet collected, a sum of forty million francs (metallic value). . .

83 http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/diplomatic/c_pressburg.html